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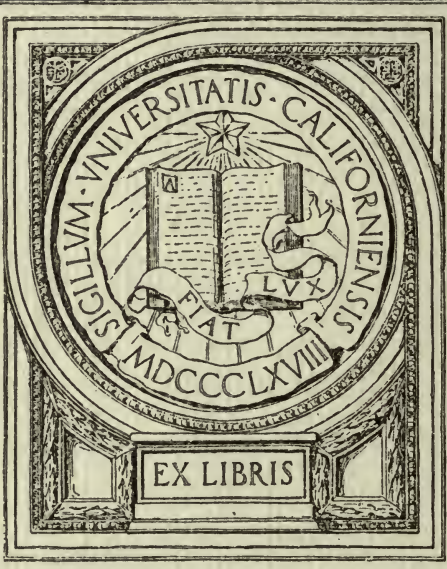
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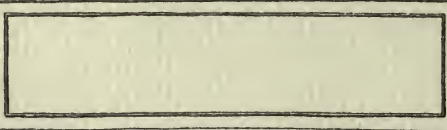


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The First Year and a Look Ahead

What the National Popular Government League did
in 1914. What should be done in 1915

By

JUDSON KING
Executive Secretary

REPORT

to the Second National Conference on Popular Govern-
ment at the Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C.
January 4th and 5th, 1915

THE NATIONAL POPULAR GOVERNMENT LEAGUE
1017 Munsey Building, Washington, D. C.



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Why the National Popular Government League Was Organized

The causes which led to the formation of the National Popular Government League may be briefly stated.

Organized effort to secure the Initiative, Referendum and Recall had been going on for some twenty years. Many state leagues had been started, several of which were dead or inactive. Two national organizations had successively ceased to exist. Some twelve state leagues were in existence in varied stages of vigor and efficiency. Nearly all farm and labor organizations were in favor of these principles; some were doing things, others not. But the movement at the time the National Popular Government League was formed was entirely sporadic, localized, and without co-ordination.

FIRST: There was no national "Clearing House of Information" whose business it was to collect and distribute accurate data concerning the status and practical workings of popular government measures, thus enabling the workers in every state and city to take advantage of the failures and successes of every other state and city.

SECOND: There was no central bureau of recognized authority to which a legislator, or a person drafting a measure, could apply for the most effective and approved forms of amendments and laws embodying these principles.

THIRD: The special interests and the reactionary press were conducting a subtle, powerful nation-wide campaign of misrepresentation upon these measures. Their lobbyists and tricky politicians were at work at every state legislature and charter commission where these measures were pending. Result. "Jokers" which rendered the Initiative, Referendum and Recall defective or worthless in one-half of the states and one-half of the cities which had them.

FOURTH: There was no national organization to which local leagues could apply for apt literature, able speakers, expert counsel, or effective help in conducting their struggles. Many campaigns have been lost for the lack of such aid, to say nothing of thousands of dollars wasted in amateurish, misguided effort.



FIFTH: At the time the League was proposed the whole movement was drifting. Its friends mistaking nominal success for real achievement had relaxed their efforts, thinking the movement would go on by its own momentum. At this very time its enemies were beginning their real campaign against it. Where these measures could not be defeated outright, they were being emasculated by ingenuous jokers.

On April 28, 1913, Wm. S. U'Ren, of Oregon, wrote:

It is of very great importance that we have a national organization to help and strengthen the work in the different states. At the present time the reactionaries are getting the best of the fight for direct legislation nearly all along the line. The enemy is thoroughly awake and fighting now, and it is bound to be harder to make progress from this time on than it was before the Special Interests realized what the people could do with the Initiative and Referendum.

But there was no general understanding of the real situation and there was no organized force capable of combating the clever efforts being made to destroy the popular government movement.

Nevertheless, it was on all hands conceded that the Initiative and Referendum was the most practical reform of this generation. With these facts in mind, the founders of the League felt justified in promoting its organization.

Accordingly the first national conference on popular government ever held in this country was called and the meeting took place at Washington, D. C., December 6, 1913, at which time the League was organized.

The plan of the Organization is exceedingly simple. Individual memberships are held direct. Little or no effort has been made to organize state or local branches, and thus exhaust the energy of the League upon machinery. The main idea has been to secure the cooperation of organizations now in existence which are proponents of our principles.

At the conference at which the League was organized there were represent, The—

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR,
NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF PROGRESSIVE STATE GRANGES,
DIRECT LEGISLATION LEAGUE OF CALIFORNIA,
DIRECT LEGISLATION LEAGUE OF COLORADO,
DIRECT LEGISLATION LEAGUE OF MARYLAND,
INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM LEAGUE OF ILLINOIS,

MASSACHUSETTS DIRECT LEGISLATION LEAGUE,
NEBRASKA VOTER'S LEAGUE,
NEW HAMPSHIRE DIRECT LEGISLATION LEAGUE,
PEOPLE'S POWER LEAGUE OF MONTANA,
PEOPLE'S POWER LEAGUE OF OKLAHOMA,
REFERENDUM LEAGUE OF DELAWARE.

THE FIRST YEAR'S WORK

The following is a summary of the first year's work. Necessarily a large number of activities, requiring much expenditure of time and energy, must be omitted.

Directly as a result of the first conference, The Popular Government League of Missouri and The People's Rule League of Mississippi have been organized, both of which have joined us.

At the Seattle convention of the American Federation of Labor, held December 10, 1913, the convention endorsed the action of its president and officers in taking part in the organization of our League and by a convention resolution affiliated with us.

On January 23 and 24, 1914, I attended the biennial convention of the United Mine Workers of America at Indianapolis, Ind., and made an address. As a result the United Mine Workers voted to cooperate with our League.

On February 21 I attended the annual convention of the United Mine Workers of District 21 (including Texas, Arkansas, Oklahoma), at Fort Smith, Ark., with the result that this branch approved the action of the national convention and affiliated with us.

In May I was invited to address the state convention of the Virginia Federation of Labor at Norfolk. This organization also voted to affiliate.

There have also during the past year voted to affiliate with us, The—

ARKANSAS STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR,
ILLINOIS STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR,
OHIO STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR,
CHICAGO FEDERATION OF LABOR,
CLEVELAND FEDERATION OF LABOR,
AMERICAN FLINT GLASS WORKERS' UNION,
PEOPLE'S POWER LEAGUE OF OREGON,

JOINT LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE; representing the State Grange, Farmers' Union, Federation of Labor and Direct Legislation League of the State of Washington.

BUREAU OF INFORMATION

If the friends of popular government in attendance here or elsewhere could watch for a single week the correspondence coming into our office, they would not only be interested but would have a much keener sense of the importance of the work our Bureau of Information is doing.

MODEL LAWS AND EXPERT CRITICISM

For example: Here is a letter received January 1 from the editor-in-chief of a series of important newspapers and magazines in the Northwest, which runs:

Will you send me at your earliest convenience a statement of the essentials of an adequate Recall law. . . . Send arguments on the general subject that will help. . . . There is a chance of getting a law through in the state of — and we want to see that the law is copper-riveted. . . . Send best condensed statement for the commission form of government for cities, its origin, variations, and the strength and weakness of various sorts; also refer me to the best authorities and literature on the subject.

From members of city charter commissions, members of legislatures and constitutional conventions, editors, college professors, labor leaders, farm leaders, and active agitators and workers for our measures, come written requests and telegrams for model laws and information of many sorts. Frequently laws in preparation or which have been introduced are sent to us with a request for criticism.

COLLEGE STUDENTS

A very encouraging feature of the work is the demand from university, college and high school students for material upon the Initiative, Referendum, Recall, etc., to be used in debates. Just after our conference last year I prepared an eight-page bulletin on the Initiative and Referendum especially for the students of the High Schools of North Carolina for use in a debate which was held in the high schools throughout that state last spring. Many libraries also ask for our material. Accurate information upon the actual workings of direct legislation meas-

ures is very difficult to obtain from the usual sources and we can do a very important educational work in getting the truth to these debaters and the libraries.

BULLETINS

During the course of the year I have found time to compile and issue five bulletins, all of which have been sent to our members; namely:

BULLETIN No. 1.—Shows the number of states having the Initiative and Referendum, date of adoption, the popular vote on the amendment and indicates whether the amendment is good or bad.

BULLETIN No. 2.—Shows the number of measures adopted and rejected in the Initiative and Referendum states at the election of 1912.

BULLETIN No. 3.—Shows from the election returns of 1912 the extent to which the voters take an interest and voted upon initiated and referred measures. For example a general average of 72 per cent of the voters voted upon every one of the measures submitted at the election, 82 per cent voted upon the most important ones.

BULLETIN No. 4.—Contains a valuable table showing the number of laws submitted in each state having the Initiative and Referendum from 1898 to 1912, inclusive, and contains data showing the cost of securing petitions.

BULLETIN No. 5.—Gives a list of eight states having the state-wide Recall, date of adoption, popular vote and the character of the amendment.

The cold election facts presented in these bulletins annihilate a large number of the common objections raised against direct legislation by its most famous opponents. New editions of these bulletins will shortly be issued to include the election of 1914.

THE MISSOURI DOCUMENT

The legislature of Missouri in 1913 submitted a worthless substitute Initiative and Referendum amendment to take the place of the good one in operation. It was one of the most cunningly devised pieces of legislation I ever examined. A very fair proposition on its face, careful examination revealed a large number of concealed jokers which would have absolutely destroyed the use of the Initiative and Referendum in Missouri. At the request

of the Missouri Popular Government League we prepared a pamphlet which showed not only the concealed jokers in the Missouri substitute, *but exposed the attempts being made to destroy the Initiative and Referendum in various other states.* It was entitled: "Shall the People Be Tricked Out of Their Power to Rule?" Ten thousand copies of this pamphlet were sent to the Missouri League and distributed. The counterfeit amendment was defeated, and I am pleased to report that the Missouri leaders have written to us that our assistance was of very material help in accomplishing the result.

We also prepared an eight-page pamphlet which will be of use anywhere, but especially designed for the campaigns then on for the Initiative and Referendum in Mississippi and Wisconsin, where amendments were pending in the election. It is entitled: "The Initiative and Referendum; What They Are; Where They Are in Use; How They Work." Several thousands of these pamphlets were sent to each state.

In addition to these large orders, we have distributed during the past year over 15,000 pamphlets to individuals all over the country upon request.

LITERATURE ON HAND

We have available for distribution at the present time many other excellent pamphlets, a partial list of which is as follows:

People's Rule vs. Boss Rule, Senator Robert L. Owen.

Democracy and Efficiency, Cong. William Kent.

Machine-Made Legislation, Cong. M. Clyde Kelly.

Commission Government of Cities, Senator Robert L. Owen.

The Short Ballot, Richard S. Childs.

The Story of Short Ballot Cities, Richard S. Childs.

Preferential Voting and How It Works, Reginald Mott Hull.

The Initiative and Referendum, Prof Lewis J. Johnson.

True Progress, Senator Henry F. Ashurst.

A Non-Partisan Party, Senator George W. Norris.

Initiative and Referendum in Switzerland, Hon. Carl S. Vrooman.

The Oregon System, Richard A. Montague.

The People's Law, Hon. William Jennings Bryan.

New Dangers to Majority Rule, Judson King.

New Mexico and Arizona, Senator Miles Poindexter.

A New Constitution for the State of Indiana, Theo. F. Thieme.

Initiative, Referendum and Recall, American Federation of Labor.

PRESS WORK

In addition to writing articles for newspapers for campaign purposes, I have taken time to write other articles of an educational nature. For example: I wrote a series of articles on popular government measures which were published weekly in the *National Field*, which is the official organ of the National Farmers' Union, and reaches thousands of progressive farmers throughout the United States.

LEGISLATIVE FIELD WORK

It was the object of this League to be not only a source of accurate information and expert assistance in the drafting of statutes, but a militant force in securing their adoption. As I have already observed, many local campaigns fail for the lack of just such assistance as our organization ought to be able to render. Considering the resources at our command, the League has a very creditable record for its first year's efforts:

OHIO

Immediately after our organization last year, we were drafted into service by the friends of democracy in Ohio, who were then facing a threatened destruction of their Initiative and Referendum amendment secured in 1912. The situation was this: The special interests attempted to hold up by referendum two statutes passed by the legislature of 1913. Gross frauds in securing these petitions were revealed and the reactionary press immediately began a tirade against the Initiative and Referendum itself, on account of forged signatures placed upon the petitions by paid circulators.

A demand was at once made by these newspapers and some of our short-sighted friends for a law absolutely prohibiting the circulation of petitions for pay, thus throwing the burden of securing petitions upon voluntary effort alone. However plausible this proposition may be on its face, every man familiar with the operation of the Initiative and Referendum knows that it would be fatal, unless percentages are lowered very materially from the present requirements. An exhaustive bulletin covering this whole subject was prepared and sent to the members of the Ohio legislature and many others. The aid of the Scripps-McRae newspapers in Ohio was secured, as well as that of the State Federation of Labor, etc. I was invited to go to Columbus, which I did, and aided in drafting a bill which provided heavy penalties for fraudulent practices in securing petitions.

A NEW FEATURE

A feature, entirely new to bills of this sort, was adopted at my suggestion, which I think of considerable importance. As a rule initiated measures have been carefully prepared and well drafted. But the vague fear, especially prevalent in the East, that they may not be well drafted, and that the possibility of crude draftsmanship exists, has been held as an argument against the Initiative and it has had great weight with many honest men. To meet this difficulty I proposed:

1. That the Legislative Reference Bureau of the State be placed at the service of the citizens as well as members of the legislature. That those initiating a measure could secure the aid of the director of the bureau in preparing it, and that when satisfactory as to form and draftsmanship, the director should so certify.

2. That those initiating a measure may submit a synopsis of the measure to the Attorney-General. If the synopsis is accurate, the Attorney-General so certifies.

Both of these certified statements may be printed at the head of the petition and the busy citizen can determine at a glance whether the measure presented to him for his signature has been well drafted and whether the solicitor is telling him the truth as to its contents.

I am pleased to say that Governor Cox, when he fully understood the situation, rendered every assistance in the passage of the entire statute which protects the Initiative and Referendum from fraud, but which saves it for practical use by honest citizens.

ARKANSAS

Arkansas adopted an excellent amendment in 1910. Since then four hostile and unwarranted decisions of the Supreme Court have practically destroyed the effect of the amendment. A movement was on foot to have two or three amendments to the amendment initiated which would correct the decisions of the court and restore the power to the people. On the occasion of my visit to Fort Smith to address the United Mine Workers' Convention, I met the leaders of this movement and strongly advised them not to attempt to tinker with the old amendment, but to initiate an entirely new system which would embody the results of our experience to date. This plan, I am pleased to

say, has been followed and the Arkansas State Federation of Labor and the Farmers' Union are now circulating a new Initiative and Referendum provision which was prepared in our office and which I believe the best yet produced in this country.

MISSISSIPPI

From Arkansas I went by invitation to Jackson, Miss., where an Initiative and Referendum amendment had been introduced in the state legislature. Although drafted in good faith by a friend of the movement, upon examination it proved to be a practically worthless amendment. Several meetings with the friends of the measure in both houses were held and after full consultation the original resolution was withdrawn and a new amendment was introduced. I remained in Jackson two weeks. The amendment passed each house three times by a two-thirds vote, as required by the constitution, and was submitted to the people at the last election. It received a two-to-one vote upon the proposition, but is reported to have failed to receive a majority of all votes cast in the election. Its fate, however, has not been decided. It was submitted under very favorable circumstances, and if I had had \$500 to spend on this campaign I am certain that the amendment would have passed beyond question. Mention must be made here that Senator Owen, in the midst of a stirring campaign in his own state, traveled all the way to Meridian, Miss., at his own expense to speak for this amendment.

ST. LOUIS CHARTER

Last spring when the new charter for the City of St. Louis, Missouri, was in preparation I was called into consultation and was able to effect some material changes for the betterment of Initiative and Referendum features. When the campaign was on for the adoption of this charter I was appealed to by the president of the City Club to defend these propositions, which were being attacked by radicals who were opposing the charter upon the grounds that the Initiative, Referendum and Recall features were so defective as to justify the defeat of the charter. I wrote two or three letters, which were published in the St. Louis newspapers. The charter was adopted by a very small majority and there are several letters on file at the office thanking the National Popular Government League for its services in that campaign.

INDIANA

I have made two trips to Indiana at the request of local leaders and advised with them as to the best methods of conducting a campaign for a new constitution in that state. There is now going on a lively campaign of education in Indiana conducted by the Indiana Voter's League, under the leadership of its president, Mr. Theo. F. Thieme, of Fort Wayne.

Time does not permit me to continue this description of field work of this kind done, or the numerous conferences in Washington and elsewhere with active leaders, at which campaigns have been planned, the fruits of which we shall see in the future. It is very gratifying to know that young as we are, we have already become known throughout the country as a central organization which can give the information and the practical help needed by the friends of fundamental democracy.

THE ROGER SULLIVAN CAMPAIGN

I conclude this section of my report with a brief reference to the campaign made by the League in the state of Illinois to defeat the aspirations of the Hon. Roger C. Sullivan for a seat in the United States Senate. We announced our opposition to both Mr. Penrose and Mr. Sullivan, but our campaign activities were limited to Illinois.

Although taking part in such campaigns is not a regular part of our work, it seemed to its officers that Mr. Sullivan was so conspicuous in the nation's eye as a political boss and had been so bitter in his opposition to the Initiative and Referendum, the Direct Primary, and any other form of popular government, that his election would be a severe blow to our cause. It was proposed to enter actively into the campaign in opposition. This proposal was submitted to the officers and members of the League and received unanimous approval with one exception.

After considering the fact that Senator Sherman also had fought the Direct Primary and the Initiative and Referendum as well as Mr. Sullivan, and that Mr. Raymond Robbins had distinguished himself by active service in behalf of these principles for many years, the League voted upon a second referendum and declared in favor of Mr. Robins.

On October the 8th, I went to Chicago, and opened up headquarters for the League at the Grand Pacific Hotel in conjunction with the Democratic Raymond Robins League, under the management of Mr. Walter Niebuhr, of Lincoln, editor of the

Courier-Herald. Several thousand copies of literature were distributed from this office through the state. Senator Owen made a very vigorous campaign of four days, in which he spoke to large audiences in several counties. Congressman James Manahan spent five days in the state speaking for Mr. Robins. Hon. Carl Vrooman also made several vigorous speeches down state and in Chicago in support of Mr. Robins. I spoke in several counties in different sections of the state in addition to the work done at headquarters. Mr. Robins was not elected but Mr. Sullivan was defeated. It is estimated that not less than 100,000 progressive Democrats revolted at the corrupt political system for which Mr. Sullivan stands, jumped the party fence and voted for Mr. Robins.

THE FEDERAL LAW FOR PUBLICITY OF CAMPAIGN FUNDS

Knowing the worthlessness of the present Federal laws for publicity of contributions to and expenditures of campaign funds, we did our best to secure the adoption by this Congress of an adequate publicity law prior to the election so that the people of the country could have some adequate notion of the amounts extended in the election of November 3. A somewhat vigorous letter sent to the members of the House on July 8 resulted in several important changes being made in a publicity bill then pending. As a result of a series of conferences, several suggestions were sent to the Senate committee when the bill reached that body, all of which were adopted. But the bill has not yet come to a vote.

It is greatly to be regretted that this action was delayed, for I am firmly convinced that if this law had passed in time to take effect at this last election, the results would have been different in many states.

A LOOK AHEAD

The character and strength of the opposition to the progress of popular government—which opposition is believed by many to be secretly organized—has already been presented. The reactionary press is stating in big headlines now that the demand for the Initiative and Referendum is dying out and pointing to the outright defeat of amendments in Wisconsin and Texas and the failure of amendments to pass in Missouri and Mississippi at the last election as proof of their contention.

I am not disturbed over this sort of thing, but the dangerous portion of this wide-spread campaign on the part of the reactionary press lies in the articles and editorials—and they are numberless—ridiculing the principles of direct legislation because in one or two states a large number of questions were submitted, drawing unwarranted lessons from the experience of the last election and advocating restrictions and safeguards which we know, but the uninformed do not know, would be destructive.

The prejudice thus created is sure to crop up in the legislative sessions which are now on and in the future lead to serious results if the attacks are not promptly met by this League.

I will now give a rapid survey of the situation which presents itself in different states at the present time.

MICHIGAN.—The legislature now sitting will pass an enabling act to facilitate the operation of the amendment adopted in 1913. The experience of the state of Washington has shown us that it is quite as easy to put the Initiative and Referendum out of business by a restrictive enabling act as it is to place jokers in the original amendment.

IOWA.—An atrocious amendment passed the legislature of 1913. It requires another submission before going to a vote. It is hoped that this legislature will reject the worthless amendment now presented to them and pass on a good one to the legislature of 1917. There is no direct legislation league organized in Iowa and, as far as I know, no organized body capable of dealing with the situation.

KANSAS.—The Initiative and Referendum will come before the legislature of this state. Friends of the Initiative and Referendum have thus far given very little attention to the technique of amendments and there is very great need of a state league to lead the fight for workable propositions.

IDAHO.—Several of our friends in Idaho are attempting to secure the submission of a real amendment to take the place of the worthless one recently adopted.

MINNESOTA.—Governor-elect of Minnesota has announced that he will urge the resubmission of the Initiative and Referendum in that state. There is an opportunity for material service here. A chief cause for the defeat of the amendment submitted at the last election was its very defective character. Many powerful friends of direct legislation refused to work for it. But I regret to report that Governor Hammond's recommendations.

if followed out, will prove far more disastrous than the defective amendment just defeated. He is urging the Utah plan.

OKLAHOMA.—Undoubtedly an entirely new Initiative and Referendum measure will be proposed in the legislature of Oklahoma to take the place of the one now in force which has proven so defective and expensive to the state. The Governor has announced that he will recommend the Preferential Primary Ballot Law, and this question is to be thrashed out with excellent prospects of being adopted in effective form.

NEW YORK.—The newly elected constitutional convention in New York will soon be in session, and although there is little hope that anything progressive will come out of it, there will be good opportunity for placing the truth regarding popular government in operation before the delegates of this convention. We have several letters with a request for help of this sort.

ILLINOIS.—The failure to secure the Initiative and Referendum and other progressive features to the constitution of this state has resulted in the demand for a general revision of the state constitution. It is probable that the present legislature will submit the question.

INDIANA.—An active campaign to secure the revision of the constitution is being made by the Indiana Voters' League. Due to the reactionary press the people of Indiana know but very little concerning the operation of popular government measures and their value.

MASSACHUSETTS.—The Initiative and Referendum will be brought before the legislature again.

MARYLAND.—There will be an active campaign from now until next election conducted by the Maryland Direct Legislation League in favor of the Referendum amendment now pending.

OTHER STATES.—Reports from California, Oregon, Colorado and other states indicate that not only the Initiative and Referendum but the Direct Primary laws and other measures giving power to the people will be attacked very severely by the reactionaries this year. Constructive legislation of this sort will be proposed in many other states which I shall not take time to mention. In addition we must remember that the movement for Home Rule, Municipal Affairs, Commission Form of Government and Direct Legislation provisions therewith is going rapidly forward and our Information Bureau will be taxed for demands from these sources.

NATIONAL LEGISLATION

The campaign for the enactment of an effective Federal Corrupt Practices Act should be carried forward. The constructive suggestions made at this conference and other material relating to the subject should be carefully prepared for the use of the incoming Congress and for our friends throughout the country.

At our last convention marked attention was given to the subject of the Gateway amendment which will provide an easier method of amending the Federal Constitution. A campaign of education is necessary before this idea can be made a practical political issue. For lack of time and money I have been unable to push this very essential part of our program. An amendment initiated by Senator Cummins providing for the direct initiative of the people upon the amendment to the Federal Constitution was reported favorably by a sub-committee of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate after having been mutilated beyond semblance of value. The Judiciary Committee rejected the recommendations of the sub-committee. However, a start has been made bringing the attention of Congress to this important matter.

THINGS TO BE DONE

A single mistake in drafting the Initiative and Referendum provisions of the Oklahoma system has cost that state five special elections at an expense of at least \$500,000 to say nothing of the expense to its citizens from the failure of good laws to pass on account of the infamous "majority" joker. For example: The Torrens Land Title System which should have been in operation, having been adopted in 1908 by a large majority of those voting on the question, but which failed of adoption because it did not receive a majority of "all votes cast" in the election. It would be difficult to estimate the loss to the people of the states and cities which now have direct legislation through jokers of this sort, but the greatest defect lies in the discredit heaped upon popular government because of failure through causes the public does not understand. It would seem, therefore, from every point of view, of high value to effectively continue the work which this league has set out to do.

BETTER OFFICE EQUIPMENT

If we are to do our part in this work effectively and efficiently we must have a better equipment and our facilities for gathering

and distributing information must be increased. We have a fair clearing house for information upon direct legislation but there is no place in this country where a legislator can go to get adequate information and a summary of the results of the Direct Primary; nowhere can he secure a model Direct Primary law. We do not have one at our office today. I do not know where one exists nor have I been able to find one by diligent inquiry. Yet, I have constant demands for a model Direct Primary law and just at this time this item is badly needed.

NEW LITERATURE NEEDED

Our limited funds renders it difficult for us to keep in touch with the practical workings of popular government measures as promptly and intimately as we desire in every section of the country. Hence we urge our friends to write us on their own initiative and to send copies of newspaper clippings and pamphlets, election returns, etc., without being especially requested to do so. Such information is of great value, and demands are being made constantly upon us in this direction.

Also our library of reference is incomplete and our friends who have books relating to politics and the problems of government which they can readily spare can render us a material service by contributing them to the library of the Bureau of Information.

I call your attention to the fact that our enemies are busy. During the last few months books have been printed against us written by President Lowell of Harvard University, Professor Taft of Yale University, Senator Root, former Attorney General Wickersham, and others. These books are being placed in our universities, colleges and libraries and because of the eminence of the authors are being quoted as authorities by teachers of political science. The only book upon the Swiss experience is, "The Referendum in Switzerland," by Déploige, written in Belgium in 1890, translated into English and is used in this country as a standard work upon Switzerland. It is biased, untrustworthy, a book I found laughed at in Switzerland, yet it is used as an authority in this country.

On the other hand a most trustworthy and scholarly book upon the Swiss experience written by a Swiss statesman, Mr. Theodore Curti, now editor of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, the greatest newspaper in Europe, is not available in English. Mr. Curti has given me permission to have this book brought out in America

but I have not been able to do it on account of the expense of translation, etc. It would also be a most valuable thing for our cause at this time to issue a book of about 250 pages upon, say, "The Initiative and Referendum in the United States to 1915."

LITERATURE FOR LIBRARIES AND SCHOOLS

In this connection I wish to express my very great desire to be able to furnish to the universities, colleges and teachers of political science and civics throughout the nation facts regarding the theory and actual operation of direct legislation and similar measures. We ought to have a small inexpensive paper published every month which would keep abreast of the happenings of the time and in some small measure at least to offset among thinking people the misrepresentations of the reactionary newspapers and magazines, and we ought to have money enough to publish the results of our last conference and a report of this one.

AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

We have received from the directors of the Panama-Pacific Exposition in San Francisco several requests to hold our next conference at San Francisco. It is for you to determine whether this should be done.

Prior to the outbreak of the European War I had hoped that we might hold our national convention and an international convention on popular government to be addressed by leading exponents of democracy from the great nations of the world so that we might take stock of the status and tendency of democracy at the beginning of the twentieth century. It occurs to me that a volume of addresses of this sort would prove inspiring especially if each speaker should tell the particular form which the struggle for self-government takes in his country. Probably on account of the war it would be difficult to hold such an international conference.

SHALL WE HAVE A BOOTH AT THE EXPOSITION?

However, I desire to have you earnestly consider the advisability of having this league establish and maintain a popular government exhibit at the exposition similar to, but more complete than the one which we have been able to make here, and to have a booth where our literature could be placed for inspection and distribution. I can think of no way in which money could be spent for educational purposes to any greater advantage.

FINANCE

From July 9, 1913, to December 31, 1914, eighteen months, which includes the period during which the league was being organized up to December 6, 1913, and its operation since, our total gross receipts as shown by the books have been \$5,459.99 and our disbursements have been \$5,457.12 leaving a balance in the bank of \$2.87, with the January and other obligations yet to be paid.

To carry on the work for the coming year there should be provided a guaranteed Working Fund of at least \$10,000. Much more than this is needed and can be used to good advantage, but this amount is necessary to afford a firm basis for the work and permit those engaged in its active prosecution to give their energies without continuous worry and embarrassment.

Respectfully submitted,

JUDSON KING,
Executive Secretary.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

NATIONAL POPULAR GOVERNMENT LEAGUE

July 9, 1913, to December 31, 1914

	Receipts	Disbursements
Memberships and contributions	\$4,449.00	
Loans	400.00	
Pamphlets, sale on	235.15	
Refund D. A. R. on deposit of \$150.00	83.65	
Miscellaneous receipts	292.19	
Salary—Judson King		\$1,430.00
Traveling expenses—Judson King.....		799.35
Salary—stenographer		726.00
Salary—extra clerical help		190.00
Rent		420.00
Equipment		158.80
Telephone and Telegraph		205.32
Postage		189.00
Deposit on hall (D. A. R.)		150.00
Miscellaneous expenditures		268.85
Loans returned		233.65
Books, pamphlets, speeches, etc.		286.55
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